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SPEECH BY ELIHU ROOT, AS TEMPORARY
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
CONVENTION, AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
JUNE 21, 1904. * * * * *

NEW YORK

C. G. MURDOCH, WALKER AND CENTRE ST.
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The responsibility of government rests upon the Republican Party. The complicated machinery through which the 80,000,000 people of the United States govern themselves, answers to no single will. The composite government devised by the framers of the Constitution to meet the conditions of national life more than a century ago, requires the willing cooperation of many minds, the combination of many independent factors, in every forward step for the general welfare.

The President at Washington with his Cabinet, the 90 Senators representing 45 sovereign States, the 386 Representatives in Congress,—are required to reach concurrent action upon a multitude of questions involving varied and conflicting interests and requiring investigation, information, discussion and reconciliation of views. From all our vast territory with its varieties of climate and industry, from all our great population active in production and commerce and social progress and intellectual and moral life to a degree never before attained by any people,—difficult problems press upon the National Government.

Within the past five years more than sixty-six thousand bills have been introduced in Congress. Some method of selection must be followed. There must be some preliminary process to ascertain the general tenor of public judgment upon the principles to be applied in government, and some organization and recognition of leadership which shall bring a legislative majority and the executive into accord in the practical application of those principles ; or effective government becomes impossible.

The practical governing instinct of our people has adapted the machinery devised in the 18th to the conditions of the 20th Century by the organization of national political parties. In them men join for the promotion of a few cardinal principles upon which they agree. For the sake of those principles they lay aside their differences upon less important questions. To represent those principles and to carry on the government in accordance with them, they present to the people candidates whose competency and loyalty they approve. The people by their choice of candidates indicate the principles and methods which they wish followed in the conduct of their government. They do not merely choose between men; they choose between parties—between the principles they profess, the methods they follow, the trustworthiness of their professions, the inferences to be drawn from the records of their past, the general weight of character of the body of men who will be brought into participation in government by their ascendancy.

When the course of the next administration is but half done the Republican Party will have completed the first half century of its national life. Of the eleven administrations since the first election of Abraham Lincoln, nine—covering a period of thirty-six years—have been under Republican presidents. For the greater part of that time, the majority in each House of Congress has been Republican. History affords no parallel in any age or country for the growth in national greatness and power and honor, the wide diffusion of the comforts of life, the uplifting of the great mass of the people above the hard conditions of poverty, the common opportunity for education and individual advancement, the universal possession of civil and religious liberty, the protection

of property and security for the rewards of industry and enterprise, the cultivation of national morality, respect for religion, sympathy with humanity and love of liberty and justice, which have marked the life of the American people during this long period of Republican control.

With the platform and the candidates of this Convention, we are about to ask a renewed expression of popular confidence in the Republican Party.

We shall ask it because the principles to which we declare our adherence are right, and the best interests of our country require that they should be followed in its government.

We shall ask it because the unbroken record of the Republican Party in the past is an assurance of the sincerity of our declarations and the fidelity with which we shall give them effect. Because we have been constant in principle, loyal to our beliefs and faithful to our promises, we are entitled to be believed and trusted now.

We shall ask it because the character of the Party gives assurance of good government. A great political organization, competent to govern, is not a chance collection of individuals brought together for the moment as the shifting sands are piled up by wind and sea, to be swept away, to be formed and re-formed again. It is a growth. Traditions and sentiments reaching down through struggles of years gone, and the stress and heat of old conflicts, and the influence of leaders passed away, and the ingrained habit of applying fixed rules of interpretation and of thought,—all give to a political party known and inalienable qualities from which must follow in its deliberate judgment and ultimate action, like results for good or bad government. We do not deny that other parties have

in their membership men of morality and patriotism ; but we assert with confidence that above all others, by the influences which gave it birth and have maintained its life, by the causes for which it has striven, the ideals which it has followed, the Republican Party as a party has acquired a character which makes its ascendancy the best guarantee of a government loyal to principle and effective in execution. Through it more than any other political organization the moral sentiment of America finds expression. It cannot depart from the direction of its tendencies. From what it has been may be known certainly what it must be. Not all of us rise to its standard ; not all of us are worthy of its glorious history ; but as a whole this great political organization—the party of Lincoln and McKinley—cannot fail to work in the spirit of its past and in loyalty to great ideals.

We shall ask the continued confidence of the people because the candidates whom we present are of proved competency and patriotism, fitted to fill the offices for which they are nominated, to the credit and honor of our Country.

We shall ask it because the present policies of our government are beneficial and ought not to be set aside ; and the people's business is being well done, and ought not to be interfered with.

Have not the American people reason for satisfaction and pride in the conduct of their government since the election of 1900, when they rendered their judgment of approval upon the first administration of President McKinley ? Have we not had an honest government ? Have not the men selected for office been men of good reputation who by their past lives had given evidence that they were honest and compe-

tent? Can any private business be pointed out in which lapses from honesty have been so few and so trifling proportionately, as in the public service of the United States? And when they have occurred, have not the offenders been relentlessly prosecuted and sternly punished without regard to political or personal relations?

Have we not had an effective government? Have not the laws been enforced? Has not the slow process of legislative discussion upon many serious questions been brought to practical conclusions embodied in beneficial statutes? and has not the Executive proceeded without vacillation or weakness to give these effect? Are not the laws of the United States obeyed at home? and does not our government command respect and honor throughout the world?

Have we not had a safe and conservative government? Has not property been protected? Are not the fruits of enterprise and industry secure? What safeguard of the constitution for vested right or individual freedom has not been scrupulously observed? When has any American administration ever dealt more considerately and wisely with questions which might have been the cause of conflict with foreign powers? When have more just settlements been reached by peaceful means? When has any administration wielded a more powerful influence for peace? and when have we rested more secure in friendship with all mankind?

Four years ago the business of the Country was loaded with burdensome internal taxes, imposed during the war with Spain. By the Acts of March 2nd, 1901, and April 12th, 1902, the Country has been wholly relieved of that annual burden of over one hundred

million dollars ; and the further accumulation of a surplus which was constantly withdrawing the money of the Country from circulation has been prevented by the reduction of taxation.

Between the 30th of June, 1900, and the first of June, 1904, our Treasury Department collected in revenues the enormous sum of \$2,203,000,000 and expended \$2,028,000,000, leaving us with a surplus of over \$170,000,000 after paying the \$50,000,000 for the Panama Canal and loaning \$4,600,000 to the St. Louis Exposition. Excluding those two extraordinary payments, which are investments from past surplus and not expenditures of current income, the surplus for this year will be the reasonable amount of about \$12,000,000.

The vast and complicated transactions of the Treasury, which for the last fiscal year show actual cash receipts of \$4,250,290,262 and disbursements of \$4,113,199,414, have been conducted with perfect accuracy and fidelity and without the loss of a dollar. Under wise management the Financial Act of March 14th, 1900, which embodied the sound financial principles of the Republican Party and provided for the maintenance of our currency on the stable basis of the gold standard, has wrought out beneficial results. On the 1st of November, 1899, the interest-bearing debt of the United States was \$1,046,049,020. On the 1st of May last the amount of that debt was \$895,157,440, a reduction of \$150,891,580. By refunding, the annual interest has been still more rapidly reduced from \$40,347,884 on the 1st of November, 1899, to \$24,176,745 on the 1st of June, 1904, an annual saving of over \$16,000,000. When the Financial Act was passed the thinly settled portions of our Country were suffering for lack of banking facilities because the banks

were in the large towns, and none could be organized with a capital of less than \$50,000. Under the provisions of that Act, there were organized down to the 1st of May last 1296 small banks of \$25,000 capital, furnishing, under all the safeguards of the National Banking System, facilities to the small communities of the West and South. The facilities made possible by that Act have increased the circulation of national banks from \$254,402,730 on the 14th of March, 1900, to \$445,988,565 on the 1st of June, 1904. The money of the Country in circulation has not only increased in amount with our growth in business, but it has steadily gained in the stability of the basis on which it rests. On the 1st of March, 1897, when the first administration of McKinley began, we had in the Country including bullion in the Treasury, \$1,806,272,076. This was \$23.14 *per capita* for our population, and of this 38.893 per cent was gold. On the 1st of March, 1901, when the second administration of McKinley began, the money in the Country was \$2,467,295,228. This was \$28.34 *per capita*, and of this 45.273 per cent was gold. On the 1st of May last the money in the Country was \$2,814,985,446, which was \$31.02 *per capita*, and of it 48.028 per cent was gold. This great increase of currency has been arranged in such a way that the large government notes in circulation are gold certificates, while the silver certificates and greenbacks are of small denominations. As the large gold certificates represent gold actually on deposit, their presentation at the Treasury in exchange for gold can never infringe upon the gold reserve. As the small silver certificates and greenbacks are always in active circulation, no large amount of them can be accumulated for the purpose of drawing on the gold reserve; and thus, while every man can get a gold dollar for

every dollar of the government's currency, the endless chain which we were once taught to fear so much, has been effectively put out of business. The Secretary of the Treasury has shown himself mindful of the needs of business and has so managed our finances as himself to expand and contract our currency as occasion has required. When in the fall of 1902 the demand for funds to move the crops caused extraordinary money stringency, the Secretary exercised his lawful right to accept state and municipal bonds as security for public deposits, thus liberating United States bonds which were used for additional circulation. When the crops were moved and the stringency was over he called for a withdrawal of the state and municipal securities, and thus contracted the currency. Again, in 1903, under similar conditions, he produced similar results. The payment of the \$50,000,000 for the Panama Canal made last month without causing the slightest disturbance in finance, showed good judgment and a careful consideration of the interests of business upon which our people may confidently rely.

Four years ago the regulation by law of the great corporate combinations called "trusts" stood substantially where it was when the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was passed. President Cleveland, in his last message of December, 1896, had said :

"Though Congress has attempted to deal with this matter by legislation, the laws passed for that purpose thus far have proved ineffective, not because of any lack of disposition or attempt to enforce them, but simply because the laws themselves as interpreted by the courts do not reach the difficulty. If the insufficiencies of existing laws can be remedied by further legislation, it should be done. The fact must be recognized however that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of in-

herent obstacles and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making Federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that cannot be transgressed."

At every election, the regulation of trusts had been the foot-ball of campaign oratory and the subject of many insincere declarations.

Our Republican administration has taken up the subject in a practical, sensible way as a business rather than a political question, saying what it really meant, and doing what lay at its hand to be done to accomplish effective regulation. The principles upon which the government proceeded were stated by the President in his message of December, 1902. He said :

" A fundamental base of civilization is the inviolability of property ; but this is in no wise inconsistent with the right of society to regulate the exercise of the artificial powers which it confers upon the owners of property, under the name of corporate franchises, in such a way as to prevent the misuse of these powers. * * *

" We can do nothing of good in the way of regulating and supervising these corporations until we fix clearly in our minds that we are not attacking the corporations, but endeavoring to do away with any evil in them. We are not hostile to them ; we are merely determined that they shall be so handled as to subserve the public good. We draw the line against misconduct, not against wealth. * * *

" In curbing and regulating the combinations of capital which are or may become injurious to the public we must be careful not to stop the great enterprises which have legitimately reduced the cost of production, not to abandon the place which our country has won in the leadership of the international industrial world, not to strike down wealth with the result of closing factories and mines, of turning the wage-worker idle in the streets and leaving the farmer without a market for what he grows. * * *

" I believe that monopolies, unjust discriminations,

which prevent or cripple competition, fraudulent over-capitalization, and other evils in trust organizations and practices which injuriously affect interstate trade, can be prevented under the power of the Congress to 'regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States' through regulations and requirements operating directly upon such commerce, the instrumentalities thereof, and those engaged therein."

After long consideration, Congress passed three practical statutes : on the 11th of February, 1903, an act to expedite hearings in suits in enforcement of the Anti-Trust Act ; on the 14th of February, 1903, the act creating a new Department of Commerce and Labor with a Bureau of Corporations, having authority to secure systematic information regarding the organization and operation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce ; and on the 19th of February, 1903, an act enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the courts, to deal with secret rebates in transportation charges, which are the chief means by which the trusts crush out their smaller competitors.

The Attorney General has gone on in the same practical way, not to talk about the trusts, but to proceed against the trusts by law for their regulation. In separate suits fourteen of the great railroads of the Country have been restrained by injunction from giving illegal rebates to the favored shippers, who by means of them were driving out the smaller shippers and monopolizing the grain and meat business of the Country. The beef trust was put under injunction. The officers of the railroads engaged in the cotton carrying pool, affecting all that great industry of the South, were indicted and have abandoned their combination. The Northern Securities Company which undertook by combining in one own-

ership the capital stocks of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads to end traffic competition in the Northwest, has been destroyed by a vigorous prosecution expedited and brought to a speedy and effective conclusion in the Supreme Court under the act of February 11th, 1903. The Attorney General says :

" Here, then, are four phases of the attack on the combinations in restraint of trade and commerce—the railroad injunction suits, the cotton pool cases, the beef trust cases, and the Northern Securities case. The first relates to the monopoly produced by secret and preferential rates for railroad transportation ; the second to railroad traffic pooling ; the third to a combination of independent corporations to fix and maintain extortionate prices for meats ; and the fourth to a corporation organized to merge into itself the control of parallel and competing lines of railroad and to eliminate competition in their rates of transportation."

The right of the Interstate Commerce Commission to compel the production of books and papers has been established by the judgment of the Supreme Court in a suit against the coal carrying roads. Other suits have been brought and other indictments have been found and other trusts have been driven back within legal bounds. No investment in lawful business has been jeopardized, no fair and honest enterprise has been injured ; but it is certain that wherever the constitutional power of the national government reaches, trusts are being practically regulated and curbed within lawful bounds as they never have been before, and the men of small capital are finding in the efficiency and skill of the national Department of Justice a protection they never had before against the crushing effect of unlawful combinations.

We have at last reached a point where the public wealth of farm land which has seemed so inexhaustible

is nearly gone, and the problem of utilizing the remainder for the building of new homes has become of vital importance.

The present administration has dealt with this problem vigorously and effectively. Great areas had been unlawfully fenced in by men of large means, and the home-builder had been excluded. Many of these unlawful aggressors have been compelled to relinquish their booty, and more than 2,000,000 acres of land have been restored to the public. Extensive frauds in procuring grants of land, not for homesteads but for speculation, have been investigated and stopped, and the perpetrators have been indicted and are being actively prosecuted. A competent commission has been constituted to examine into the defective working of the existing laws and to suggest practical legislation to prevent further abuse. That commission has reported, and bills adequate to accomplish the purpose have been framed and are before Congress. The further denudation of forest areas, producing alternate floods and dryness in our river valleys, has been checked by the extension of forest reserves, which have been brought to aggregate more than 63,000,000 acres of land. The reclamation by irrigation of the vast arid regions forming the chief part of our remaining public domain, has been provided for by the National Reclamation Law of June 17th, 1903. The execution of this law, without taxation and by the application of the proceeds of public land sales alone, through the construction of storage reservoirs for water, will make many millions of acres of fertile lands available for settlement. Over \$20,000,000 from these sources have been already received to the credit of the reclamation fund. Over 33,000,000 acres of public lands in fourteen States and Territories have been

embraced in the sixty-seven projects which have been devised and are under examination, and on eight of these the work of actual construction has begun.

The Postal service has been extended and improved. Its revenues have increased from \$76,000,000 in 1895 to \$95,000,000 in 1899, and \$144,000,000 in 1904. In dealing with these vast sums, a few cases of peculation, trifling in amount and by subordinate officers, have occurred there as they occur in every business. Neither fear nor favor, nor political or personal influence has availed to protect the wrongdoers. Their acts have been detected, investigated, laid bare; they have been dismissed from their places, prosecuted criminally, indicted, many of them tried, and many of them convicted. The abuses in the carriage of second-class mail matter have been remedied. The Rural Free Delivery has been widely extended. It is wholly the creation of Republican administration. The last Democratic Postmaster General declared it impracticable. The first administration of McKinley proved the contrary. At the begining of the fiscal year 1899 there were about 200 routes in operation. There are now more than 25,000 routes, bringing a daily mail service to more than 12,000,000 of our people in rural communities, enlarging the circulation of the newspaper and the magazine, increasing communication, and relieving the isolation of life on the farm.

The Department of Agriculture has been brought to a point of efficiency and practical benefit never before known. The Oleomargarine Act of May 9th, 1902, now sustained in the Supreme Court, and the Act of July 1st, 1902, to prevent the false branding of food and dairy products,—protect farmers against fraudulent imitations. The Act of February 2nd, 1903, enables the

Secretary of Agriculture to prevent the spread of contagious and infectious diseases of live stock. Rigid inspection has protected our cattle against infection from abroad, and has established the highest credit for our meat products in the markets of the world. The earth has been searched for weapons with which to fight the enemies that destroy the growing crops. An insect brought from near the Great Wall of China has checked the San Jose scale which was destroying our orchards; a parasitic fly brought from South Africa is exterminating the black scale in the lemon and orange groves of California; and an ant from Guatamala is about offering battle to the boll weevil. Broad science has been brought to the aid of limited experience. Study of the relations between plant life and climate and soil has been followed, by the introduction of special crops suited to our varied conditions. The introduction of just the right kind of seed has enabled the Gulf States to increase our rice crop from 115,000,000 pounds in 1898 to 400,000,000 pounds in 1903, and to supply the entire American demand, with a surplus for export. The right kind of sugar beet has increased our annual production of beet sugar by over 200,000 tons. Seed brought from countries of little rain fall is producing millions of bushels of grain on lands which a few years ago were deemed a hopeless part of the arid belt.

The systematic collection and publication of information regarding the magnitude and conditions of our crops, is mitigating the injury done by speculation to the farmer's market.

To increase the profit of the farmer's toil, to protect the farmer's product and extend his market, and to improve the conditions of the farmer's life; to advance the time when America shall raise within her own

limits every product of the soil consumed by her people, as she makes within her own limits every necessary product of manufacture,—these have been cardinal objects of Republican administration; and we show a record of practical things done toward the accomplishment of these objects never before approached.

Four years ago we held the Island of Cuba by military occupation. The opposition charged, and the people of Cuba believed, that we did not intend to keep the pledge of April 20th, 1898, that when the pacification of Cuba was accomplished we should leave the government and control of the Island to its people. The new policy towards Cuba which should follow the fulfillment of that pledge was unformed. During the four years it has been worked out in detail and has received effect. It was communicated by executive order to the Military Governor. It was embodied in the Act of Congress known as the Platt Amendment. It was accepted by the Cuban Constitutional Convention on the 12th of October, 1901. It secured to Cuba her liberty and her independence, but it required her to maintain them. It forbade her ever to use the freedom we had earned for her by so great a sacrifice of blood and treasure, to give the Island to any other power; it required her to maintain a government adequate for the protection of life and property and liberty, and should she fail, it gave us the right to intervene for the maintenance of such a government. And it gave us the right to naval stations upon her coast for the protection and defense alike of Cuba and the United States.

On the 20th of May, 1902, under a constitution which embodied these stipulations, the government and control of Cuba were surrendered to the President

and Congress elected by her people, and the American army sailed away. The new Republic began its existence with an administration of Cubans completely organized in all its branches and trained to effective service by American officers. The administration of President Palma has been wise and efficient. Peace and order have prevailed. The people of Cuba are prosperous and happy. Her finances have been honestly administered, and her credit is high. The naval stations have been located and bounded at Guantanamo and Bahia Honda, and are in the possession of our Navy. The Platt Amendment is the sheet anchor of Cuban independence and of Cuban credit. No such revolutions as have afflicted Central and South America are possible there, because it is known to all men that an attempt to overturn the foundations of that government will be confronted by the overwhelming power of the United States. The treaty of reciprocity and the Act of Congress of December 6th, 1903, which confirmed it, completed the expression of our policy towards Cuba; which with a far view to the future aims to bind to us by ties of benefit and protection, of mutual interest and genuine friendship, that Island which guards the Caribbean and the highway to the Isthmus, and must always be, if hostile, an outpost of attack, and, if friendly, an outpost of defense for the United States. Rich as we are, the American people have no more valuable possession than the sentiment expressed in the dispatch which I will now read:

.. HAVANA, May 20, 1902

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
President, Washington.

The government of the Island having been just transferred, I, as Chief Magistrate of the Republic, faithfully interpreting the sentiment of the whole people of Cuba, have the honor to send you and the American people testimony of our profound gratitude and the assurance of an enduring friendship, with wishes and prayers to the Almighty for the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

T. ESTRADA PALMA."

When the last National Convention met the Philippines also were under military rule. The insurrectos from the mountains spread terror among the peaceful people by midnight foray and secret assassination. Aguinaldo bided his time in a secret retreat. Over seventy thousand American soldiers from more than five hundred stations, held a still vigorous enemy in check. The Philippine Commission had not yet begun its work.

The last vestige of insurrection has been swept away. With their work accomplished, over 55,000 American troops have been brought back across the Pacific. Civil government has been established throughout the Archipelago. Peace and order and justice prevail. The Philippine Commission, guided at first by executive order and then by the wise legislation of Congress in the Philippine Government Act of July 1, 1902, have established and conducted a government which has been a credit to their country and a blessing to the people of the Islands. The body of laws which they have enacted upon careful and intelligent study of the needs of the country challenges comparison with the statutes of any country. The personnel of civil government has been brought together under an advanced and comprehensive civil service law,

which has been rigidly enforced. A complete census has been taken, designed to be there as it was in Cuba the basis for representative government; and the people of the Islands will soon proceed under provisions already made by Congress to the election of a representative assembly, in which for the first time in their history they may have a voice in the making of their own laws. In the meantime the local and provincial governments are in the hands of officers elected by the Filipinos; and in the great central offices, in the Commission, on the Bench, in the executive departments, the most distinguished men of the Filipino race are taking their part in the government of their people. A free school system has been established and hundreds of thousands of children are learning lessons which will help fit them for self-government. The seeds of religious strife existing in the bitter controversy between the people and the religious orders have been deprived of potency for harm by the purchase of the Friars' lands, and their practical withdrawal. By the Act of Congress of March 2nd, 1903, a gold standard has been established to take the place of the fluctuating silver currency. The unit of value is made exactly one-half the value of the American gold dollar, so that American money is practically part of their currency system. To enable the Philippine Government to issue this new currency, \$6,000,000 was borrowed by them in 1903 in the City of New York; and it was borrowed at a net interest charge of 1 5-8 per cent per annum. The trade of the Islands has increased notwithstanding adverse conditions. During the last five years of peace under Spanish rule, the average total trade of the Islands was less than \$36,000,000. During the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1903, the trade of the Islands was over \$66,-

000,000. There is but one point of disturbance, and that is in the country of the Mohammedan Moros, where there is an occasional fitful savage outbreak against the enforcement of the law recently made to provide for adequate supervision and control to put an end to the practice of human slavery.

When Governor Taft sailed from Manila in December last to fill the higher office where he will still guard the destinies of the people for whom he has done such great and noble service, he was followed to the shore by a mighty throng, not of repressed and sullen subjects, but of free and peaceful people, whose tears and prayers of affectionate farewell showed that they had already begun to learn that "our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

None can foretell the future; but there seems no reasonable cause to doubt, that under the policy already effectively inaugurated, the institutions already implanted, and the processes already begun, in the Philippine Islands, if these be not repressed and interrupted, the Philippine people will follow in the footsteps of the people of Cuba; that more slowly indeed, because they are not as advanced, yet as surely, they will grow in capacity for self-government, and receiving power as they grow in capacity, will come to bear substantially such relations to the people of the United States as do now the people of Cuba, differing in details as conditions and needs differ, but the same in principle and the same in beneficent results.

In 1900 the project of an Isthmian Canal stood where it was left by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. For half a century it had halted, with Great Britain resting upon a joint right of control, and the

great undertaking of de Lesseps struggling against the doom of failure imposed by extravagance and corruption. On the 18th of November, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain relieved the enterprise of the right of British control and left that right exclusively in the United States. Then followed swiftly the negotiations and protocols with Nicaragua ; the Isthmian Canal Act of June 28th, 1902 ; the just agreement with the French Canal Company to pay them the value of the work they had done ; the negotiation and ratification of the treaty with Columbia ; the rejection of that treaty by Columbia in violation of our rights and the world's right to the passage of the Isthmus ; the seizure by Panama of the opportunity, to renew her oft-repeated effort to throw off the hateful and oppressive yoke of Columbia and resume the independence, which once had been hers, and of which she had been deprived by fraud and force ; the success of the revolution ; our recognition of the new Republic followed by recognition from substantially all the civilized powers of the world ; the treaty with Panama recognizing and confirming our right to construct the canal ; the ratification of the treaty by the Senate ; confirmatory legislation by Congress ; the payment of the \$50,000,000 to the French Company and to Panama ; the appointment of the Canal Commission in accordance with law ; and its organization to begin the work.

The action of the United States at every step has been in accordance with the law of Nations, consistent with the principles of justice and honor, in discharge of the trust to build the canal we long since assumed, by denying the right of every other power to build it, dictated by a high and unselfish purpose, for the common benefit of all mankind. That action was

wise, considerate, prompt, vigorous and effective ; and now the greatest of constructive nations stands ready and competent to begin and to accomplish the great enterprise which shall realize the dreams of past ages, bind together our Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and open a new highway for that commerce of the Orient whose course has controlled the rise and fall of civilizations. Success in that enterprise greatly concerns the credit and honor of the American people, and it is for them to say whether the building of the canal shall be in charge of the men who made its building possible, or of the weaklings whose incredulous objections would have postponed it for another generation.

Throughout the world the diplomacy of the present administration has made for peace and justice among Nations. Clear-sighted to perceive and prompt to maintain American interests, it has been sagacious and simple and direct in its methods, and considerate of the rights and of the feelings of others.

Within the month after the last National Convention met, Secretary Hay's circular Note of July 3rd, 1900 to the Great Powers of Europe had declared the policy of the United States

" to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve China's territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

The express adherence of the Powers of Europe to this declaration was secured. The open recognition of the rule of right conduct imposed its limitations upon the conduct of the Powers in the Orient. It was made the test of defensible action. Carefully guarded by the

wise statesman who had secured its acceptance, it brought a moral force of recognized value to protect peaceful and helpless China from dismemberment and spoliation, and to preserve the Open Door in the Orient for the commerce of the world. Under the influence of this effective friendship, a new commercial treaty with China, proclaimed on the 8th of October last, has enlarged our opportunities for trade, opened new ports to our commerce, and abolished internal duties on goods in transit within the Empire. There were indeed other Nations which agreed with this policy of American diplomacy, but no other Nation was free from suspicion of selfish aims. None other had won confidence in the sincerity of its purpose, and none other but America could render the service which we have rendered to humanity in China during the past four years. High evidence of that enviable position of our Country, is furnished by the fact that when all Europe was in apprehension lest the field of war between Russia and Japan should so spread as to involve China's ruin and a universal conflict, it was to the American Government that the able and far-sighted German Emperor appealed, to take the lead again in bringing about an agreement for the limitation of the field of action, and the preservation of the administrative entity of China outside of Manchuria ; and that was accomplished.

Upon our own continent a dispute with Canada over the boundary of Alaska had been growing more acute for 30 years. A multitude of miners swift to defend their own rights by force were locating mining claims under the laws of both Countries in the disputed territory. At any moment a fatal affray between Canadian and American miners was liable to begin a conflict in which all British Columbia would be arrayed on one

side and all our Northwest upon the other. Agreement was impossible. But the Alaskan Boundary Treaty of January 24th, 1903, provided a tribunal for the decision of the controversy; and upon legal proofs and reasoned argument, an appeal has been had from prejudice and passion to judicial judgment; and under the lead of a great Chief Justice of England, who held the sacred obligations of his judicial office above all other considerations, the dispute has been settled forever and substantially in accordance with the American contention.

In 1900 the first Administration of McKinley had played a great part in establishing The Hague Tribunal for International Arbitration. The prevailing opinion of Europe was incredulous as to the practical utility of the provision, and anticipated a paper tribunal unsought by litigants. It was the example of the United States which set at naught this opinion. The first international case taken to The Hague Tribunal was under our protocol with Mexico of May 22nd, 1902, submitting our contention for the rights of the Roman Catholic Church in California to a share of the Church moneys held by the Mexican Government before the cession, and known as the Pious Fund; and the first decision of the Tribunal was an award in our favor upon that question.

When in 1903 the failure of Venezuela to pay her just debts led England, Germany and Italy to war-like measures for the collection of their claims, an appeal by Venezuela to our government resulted in agreements upon arbitration in place of the war, and in a request that our President should act as arbitrator. Again he promoted the authority and prestige of The Hague Tribunal, and was able to lead all the powers to submit the crucial questions in controversy

to the determination of that court. It is due greatly to support by the American Government that this agency for peace has disappointed the expectations of its detractors, and by demonstrations of practical usefulness has begun a career fraught with possibilities of incalculable benefit to mankind.

On the 11th of April, 1903, was proclaimed another convention between all the Great Powers agreeing upon more humane rules for the conduct of war; and these in substance incorporated and gave the sanction of the civilized world to the rules drafted by Francis Lieber and approved by Abraham Lincoln for the conduct of the armies of the United States in the field.

All Americans who desire safe and conservative administration which shall avoid cause of quarrel, all who abhor war, all who long for the perfect sway of the principles of that religion which we all profess, should rejoice that under this Republican administration their Country has attained a potent leadership among the Nations in the cause of peace and international justice.

The respect and moral power thus gained have been exercised in the interests of humanity, where the rules of diplomatic intercourse have made formal intervention impossible. When the Roumanian outrages and when the appalling massacre at Kishineff, shocked civilization, and filled thousands of our own people with mourning, the protest of America was heard through the voice of its government, with full observance of diplomatic rules, but with moral power and effect.

We have advanced the authority of the Monroe Doctrine. Our adherence to the convention which established The Hague Tribunal was accepted by the other powers, with a formal declaration that nothing therein

contained should be construed to imply the relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions. The armed demonstration by the European powers against Venezuela was made the occasion for disclaimers to the United States of any intention to seize the territory of Venezuela, recognizing in the most unmistakable way the rights of the United States expressed in the declaration of that traditional policy.

In the meantime, mindful that moral powers unsupported by physical strength do not always avail against selfishness and aggression, we have been augmenting the forces which command respect.

We have brought our Navy to a high state of efficiency and have exercised both Army and Navy in the methods of seacoast defense. The joint Army and Navy Board has been bringing the two services together in good understanding and the common study of the strategy, the preparation and the cooperation which will make them effective in time of need. Our ships have been exercised in fleet and squadron movements, have been improved in marksmanship and mobility, and have been constantly tested by use. Since the last National Convention met we have completed and added to our Navy, 5 battleships, 4 cruisers, 4 monitors, 34 torpedo destroyers and torpedo boats; while we have put under construction, 13 battleships and 13 cruisers.

Four years ago our Army numbered over 100,000 men—regulars and volunteers, 75 per cent of them in the Philippines and China. Under the operation of statutes limiting the period of service, it was about to lapse back into its old and insufficient number of 27,000, and its old and insufficient organization under

the practical control of permanent staff departments at Washington, with the same divisions of counsel and lack of coordinating and directing power at the head, that led to confusion and scandal in the war with Spain. During the past four years the lessons taught by that war have received practical effect. The teachings of Sherman and of Upton have been recalled and respected. Congress has fixed a maximum of the Army at \$100,000, and a minimum at 60,000, so that maintaining only the minimum in peace, as we now do, when war threatens the President may begin preparation by filling the ranks to the maximum, without waiting until after war has begun, as he had to wait in 1898. Permanent staff appointments have been changed to details from the line, with compulsory returns at fixed intervals to service with troops, so that the requirements of the field and the camp rather than the requirements of the office desk shall control the departments of administration and supply. A corps organization has been provided for our artillery, with a chief of artillery at the head, so that there may be intelligent use of our costly seacoast defenses. Under the Act of February 14th, 1903, a General Staff has been established, organized to suit American conditions and requirements and adequate for the performance of the long-neglected but all-important duties of directing military education and training, and applying the most advanced principles of military science to that necessary preparation for war which is the surest safeguard of peace. The command of the Army now rests where it is placed by the Constitution—in the President. His power is exercised through a military chief of staff pledged by the conditions and tenure of his office to confidence and loyalty to his commander. Thus civilian control of the military arm, upon which we must

always insist, is reconciled with that military efficiency which can be obtained only under the direction of the trained military expert.

Four years ago we were living under an obsolete Militia law more than a century old, which Washington and Jefferson and Madison, and almost every president since their time, had declared to be worthless. We presented the curious spectacle of a people depending upon a citizen soldiery for protection against aggression, and making practically no provision whatever for training its citizens in the use of warlike weapons or in the elementary duties of the soldier. The mandate of the Constitution which required Congress to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the Militia had been left unexecuted. In default of national provisions, bodies of state troops, created for local purposes and supported at local expense, had grown up throughout the Union. Their feelings towards the regular army were rather of distrust and dislike than of comradeship. Their arms, equipment, discipline, organization, and methods of obtaining and accounting for supplies were varied and inconsistent. They were unsuited to become a part of any homogenous force, and their relations to the Army of the United States were undefined and conjectural. By the Militia Act of January 20th, 1903, Congress performed its duty under the Constitution. Leaving these bodies still to perform their duties to the States, it made them the organized militia of the United States. It provided for their conformity in armament, organization and discipline to the Army of the United States; it provided the ways in which, either strictly as militia or as volunteers, they should become an active part of the Army when called upon; it provided for their training, instruction and exercise

conjointly with the Regular Army; it imposed upon the Regular Army the duty of promoting their efficiency in many ways. In recognition of the service to the Nation which these citizen soldiers would be competent to render, the Nation assumed its share of the burden of their armament, their supply and their training. The workings of this system have already demonstrated, not only that we can have citizens outside of the Regular Army trained for duty in war, but that we can have a body of volunteer officers ready for service, between whom and the officers of the Regular Army have been created by intimate association and mutual helpfulness, those relations of confidence and esteem without which no army can be effective.

The first administration of McKinley fought and won the war with Spain, put down the insurrection in the Philippines, annexed Hawaii, rescued the legations in Pekin, brought Porto Rico into our commercial system, enacted a protective tariff, and established our national currency on the firm foundations of the gold standard by the Financial legislation of the 56th Congress.

The present administration has reduced taxation, reduced the public debt, reduced the annual interest charge, made effective progress in the regulation of trusts, fostered business, promoted agriculture, built up the navy, reorganized the army, resurrected the militia system, inaugurated a new policy for the preservation and reclamation of public lands, given civil government to the Philippines, established the Republic of Cuba, bound it to us by ties of gratitude, of commercial interest and of common defense, swung open the closed gateway of the Isthmus, strengthened the Monroe doctrine, ended the Alaskan Boundary

dispute, protected the integrity of China, opened wider its doors of trade, advanced the principle of arbitration, and promoted peace among the Nations.

We challenge judgment upon this record of effective performance in legislation, in execution and in administration.

The work is not fully done; policies are not completely wrought out; domestic questions still press continually for solution; other trusts must be regulated; the tariff may presently receive revision, and if so, should receive it at the hands of the friends and not the enemies of the protective system; the new Philippine government has only begun to develop its plans for the benefit of that long-neglected country; our flag floats on the Isthmus, but the canal is yet to be built; peace does not yet reign on earth, and considerate firmness backed by strength is still needful in diplomacy.

The American people have now to say, whether policies shall be reversed, or committed to unfriendly guardians; whether performance, which now proves itself for the benefit and honor of our country, shall be transferred to unknown and perchance to feeble hands.

No dividing line can be drawn athwart the course of this successful administration. The fatal 14th of September, 1901, marked no change of policy, no lower level of achievement. The bullet of the assassin robbed us of the friend we loved; it took away from the people the President of their choice; it deprived civilization of a potent force making always for righteousness and for humanity. But the fabric of free institutions remained unshaken. The government of the people went on. The great Party that William McKinley led, wrought still in the spirit of his example. His true and loyal successor has been equal

to the burden cast upon him. Widely different in temperament and methods, he has approved himself of the same elemental virtues—the same fundamental beliefs. With faithful and revering memory, he has executed the purposes and continued unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved Country. And he has met all new occasions with strength and resolution and far-sighted wisdom.

As we gather in this convention, our hearts go back to the friend—the never to be forgotten friend, whom when last we met we acclaimed with one accord as our universal choice to bear a second time the highest honor in the Nation's gift; and back still, memory goes through many a year of leadership and loyalty.

How wise and how skillful he was! how modest and self-effacing! how deep his insight into the human heart! how swift the intuitions of his sympathy! how compelling the charm of his gracious presence! He was so unselfish, so thoughtful of the happiness of others, so genuine a lover of his country and his kind. And he was the kindest and tenderest friend who ever grasped another's hand. Alas, that his virtues did plead in vain against cruel fate!

Yet we may rejoice, that while he lived he was crowned with honor; that the rancor of party strife had ceased; that success in his great tasks, the restoration of peace, the approval of his countrymen, the affection of his friends,—gave the last quiet months in his home at Canton repose and contentment.

And with McKinley we remember Hanna with affection and sorrow—his great lieutenant. They are together again.

But we turn as they would have us turn, to the duties of the hour, the hopes of the future; we turn as they

would have us turn, to prepare ourselves for struggle under the the same standard borne in other hands by right of true inheritance. Honor, truth, courage, purity of life, domestic virtue, love of country, loyalty to high ideals—all these combined with active intelligence, with learning, with experience in affairs, with the conclusive proof of competency afforded by wise and conservative administration, by great things already done and great results already achieved,—all these we bring to the people with another candidate. Shall not these have honor in our land? Truth, sincerity, courage! these underlie the fabric of our institutions. Upon hypocrisy and sham, upon cunning and false pretense, upon weakness and cowardice, upon the arts of the demagogue and the devices of the mere politician,—no government can stand. No system of popular government can endure in which the people do not believe and trust. Our President has taken the whole people into his confidence. Incapable of deception, he has put aside concealment. Frankly and without reserve, he has told them what their government was doing, and the reasons. It is no campaign of appearances upon which we enter, for the people know the good and the bad, the success and failure, to be credited and charged to our account. It is no campaign of sounding words and specious pretences, for our President has told the people with frankness what he believed and what he intended. He has meant every word he said, and the people have believed every word he said, and with him this convention agrees because every word has been sound Republican doctrine. No people can maintain free government who do not in their hearts value the qualities which have made the present President of the United States conspicuous among the men of his time as a type of

noble manhood. Come what may here—come what may in November, God grant that those qualities of brave true manhood shall have honor throughout America, shall be held for an example in every home, and that the youth of generations to come may grow up to feel that it is better than wealth, or office, or power, to have the honesty, the purity, and the courage of Theodore Roosevelt.

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